Here the mountain slopes which

/14 cont./

C 311 only 70 years ago were still covered with dense tree growth are
134 now cleared to gain pasture areas for stock-raising, thus causing
P extensive erosion of the normally already very thin humus cover-
361 ing and a certain sterility of the soil. The situation is different
132 in the villages still exclusively inhabited by Indios in northern
Tierradentro. They lie in part considerably higher (Mosoco,
P Vitoncó, Suin, and Lame about 2,500 meters). Here the nights
● [244] are already perceptibly cold. Coffee no longer thrives, in its
P stead maize and potatoes. It is also the best climate for cattle-
[233] raising. The mountain slopes, due to relatively sparse settle-
P
[311] ment on the part of the Paez, have not all been put to economic
[134] use as yet; the /15/ tree growth guarantees natural water con-
servation throughout the year.

C The two rainy periods of the year are from May to June
132 and October to December. During these times, especially in
the rainy period of the first half of the year, it rains in con-
siderable amounts every day, whereas the dry periods are regularly
C free of precipitation.

317 Tierradentro's wealth underground has not yet been ex-
175 plored with modern means. In pre-Spanish times, and even
[135] after the Conquista /the Spanish conquest; see the glossary,
C p. 249 /, numerous salt beds were exploited. The Spaniards
175
317 brought Negro slaves into Tierradentro as mine workers, whose
563 descendants make up a considerable part of the population of
464 Belalcázar. Today some of them work as gold-washers on the
316 banks of the Rio Paez. In Indian times gold was still obtained
C
316 at Tálaga, San Vicente, and Jambaló. In the southern part of
C Tierradentro the silver mines were a significant economic factor
[103] near the city of La Plata -- so-named because of its important
C finds.

487 From colonial times up to five years ago only the routes
passable for human beings and horses (caminos de herradura /bridle
paths/) were available for traffic routes. The two chief connec-
tions were from Inzá over Paramo de las Guanacas to Silvia and
Popayán and into the Cauca Valley, as well as from Inzá via
La Plata into the Magdalena Valley.

/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
191 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

1: Nachtigall --47 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

P /127 cont./

241 [243] Maize cultivation, like every other kind of tillage among the Paez, is done by the system of burning off clearings, a form of cultivation which is widespread among all tropical agriculturalists and is commonly known in America under the designation "milpa system." The term is Central American (probably Aztec) and means "maize field" or "bare surface in the forest," but the latter always in the sense of a burned-over piece of land planted with maize. The Colombian word corresponding to the designation "milpa" is "roza," to which in Peru the designation "chacra" generally corresponds, although there the word is also used for terraced fields that are cultivated regularly every year.

The basis of the milpa system of clearing by burning is an extensive type of agriculture, in which, before sowing, new land is cleared of its growth by burning and after the harvest is (again) abandoned for several years or forever. This type of agriculture is feasible in sparsely settled regions in which there is sufficient land to permit the intervals between the separate burnings of the clearings to be long enough. If the intervals are too brief and the land burned over too often, all kinds of taller growth are eradicated. The grass covering which then forms and grows all through the year makes the land worthless for agricultural use, whereupon a larger population can no longer feed itself from its land. This is demonstrated in large areas of Central America where the dense population living in large urban cultural centers has exhausted the soil with the milpa system to such an extent that today many of these old culture areas are
P treeless, uninhabited grassland.

114 241 O. F. Cook (p. 323) regards /128/ the simultaneous cultivation of one-fifth to one-tenth of the available land as a sound form of the milpa system. This corresponds to a clearing cycle of five to ten years. There is sufficient land for this in Calderas. A cleared field is cultivated there once, at most twice in succession, and then it is left to rest at least ten, but usually
C 311 15 to 20 years (Ill. 146 /see p. 264/). The areas used by the Indio villages, then, present a picture completely different from

1: Nachtigall --48 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

C /128 cont./
311 those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the
[137] latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been
[233] deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural
C cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the
311 colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water
312 economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked dur-
134 ing the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms
C deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile.
[361] The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons,
P so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations
311 because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the
134 natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow
312 land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks
361 that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost
P every spot on the landscape.

● 241 Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields,
461 be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily
476 willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is
P simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields.
134 The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the moun-
241 tains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands
[135] out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or
P loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the
241 valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The
P abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost
[342] utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 476 464 [462] The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on [515] the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 417 The fence which each field must have for protection against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aft) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

/129 cont./
p.274 /). The same fencing with the same ladder construction generally also surrounds the house gardens of the Paez farms. In case the houseowner has larger domestic animals, such as cows, horses, and sheep, a gate (puélta) consisting either of a regular lath door or a barrier of horizontal beams is built into the fence surrounding his house. In the villages of the civilized Paez, in the /130/ environs of which tree-growth is inadequate for the construction of a wooden fence, bamboo is used for the vertical poles, and bundles of dry maize stalks for the horizontal parts.

The entire agriculture of the Paez is digging-stick cultivation (Ill. 172 /see p. 276/). Hoe culture was originally unknown. The house gardens, only recently laid out after the model of the colonists and in which European plants such as cabbage, cucumbers, and onions are cultivated, are turned over with the spade (pála). The digging stick (ãty) consists merely of a pointed tree-trunk or pole, though recently broad iron tips with a socket are being put on the digging sticks more and more. Maize may be sowed throughout the year, but it is generally sowed in April when the rainy season begins. Several men always participate, making holes in the ground about one meter apart in every direction with the digging stick, and putting six to eight maize kernels into each hole. The holes are covered again with only very little earth with the foot, "so that the sprout can come out more easily." The ripening period of ten to 12 months is relatively long. After half a year the field is cleared of weeds once. The harvest period is spread out over approximately half a year, provided that sufficiently large amounts of maize were planted; and for this half year the people practically live "from the stalk." First the young maize (tsőt; maize in general, kőty) is eaten half-ripe and only later are the ripe ears harvested and eaten. Every day the men or women go into the field with their bags made of agave fibers and break off only as much as is needed each time for the meal.

Whereas maize may be cultivated at all elevations in Calderas, sugar cane (nyűša) thrives only in the lower, protected localities of the Kokiyó Valley. Its ripening period of two to

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolő, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

1: Nachtigall--142 E-5 (1952-1953) 1055 SC15 Paez SC15

/207 cont./

g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, 796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing 221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that ● 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an [554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers [426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however. After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
241 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
422 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the
423 sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

/284 cont./

●241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of
[782] medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/314 cont./

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish [291] period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon [171] after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atç," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically. [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the [433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar [177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kotç," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua / /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, eš and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 241 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/314 cont./

105 with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples
241 who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field
[442] cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today,
[224] the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.
[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time
[233] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising
[556] large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance
[23] and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance
[773] today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In
[441] the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

P 105 197 /319 cont./ concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] P E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771] Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197 Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

1: Nachtigall--262 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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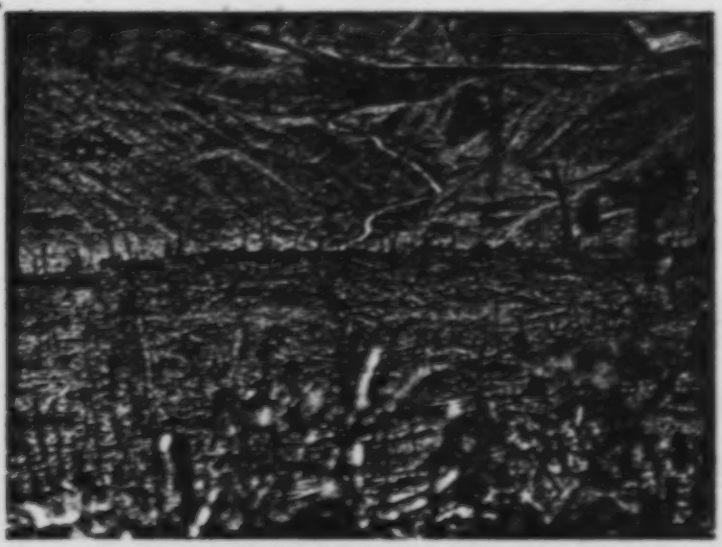

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez.

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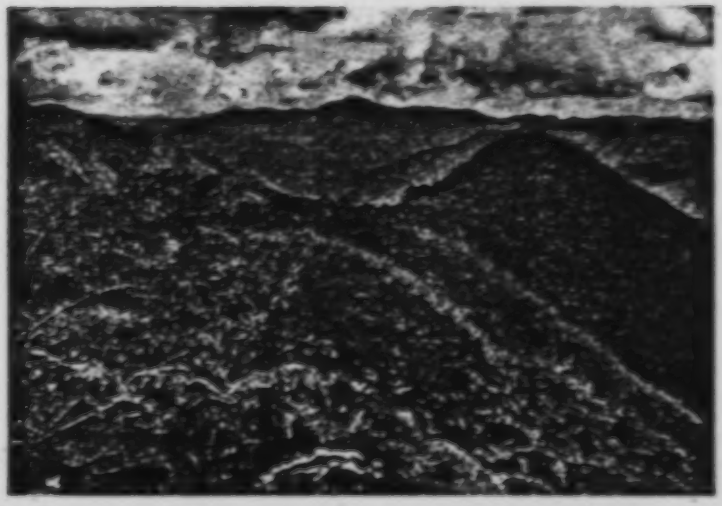

Ill. 7. The Filo de El Aguacate.

1: Nachtigall--274 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 168. Maize field with fence.

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Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez.

1: Nachtigall--275 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 169. Section of a field readied for burning.

Ill. 170. Area used by the village, with fields cleared by burning.

1: Nachtigall--276 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Ill. 171. Burning the felled trees.

Ill. 172. Setting out the sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

1: Nachtigall--296 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

a = Section of the weaving sword
b = Method of stretching the warp threads and inserting the first weft thread
c = Heddle loops
d = Weaving patterns

Plate XVI

36. a and b: game with the hole-ball
37. Drum (underside)

Illustrations

Plate XVII

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Ill. 1. View of La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro. From here the roads lead to the cities of the Magdalena Valley and the Cauca Valley.

Ill. 2. The market of Inzá at the time of the weekly market.

Plate XVIII

Ill. 3 and 4. The churches of San Andrés and Santa Rosa built in the last century.

Plate XIX

Ill. 5. Southern Tierradentro, the settlement area of the colonists, as seen from the highest point of the Filo de El Aguacate. In the background, right, the deeply cut valley of the Río Ullucus.

Plate XX

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[241]

Ill. 6. The valley of the Rio Paez above Togoima with the La Plata-Belalcázar automobile road. In the foreground a field of the Paez Indians that has been cleared by burning.

[172]

Ill. 7. The archeological site on the Filo de El Aguacate. The crest of the ridge is leveled off somewhat for the emplacement of the 41 grave chambers.

/CXX cont./

600 Ill. 153. The shaman Cerbeleón Niunda with his wife. Around his neck hangs the fiber bag with the medicinal herbs.

Plate LXXXI

Ill. 154. A man of Santa Rosa in front of his house. In the background a ladder cut out of a bamboo.

Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué, in Colombian clothing.

Plate LXXXII

Ill. 156. The Paez customarily builds his house in the midst of his fields on his own property, sometimes only for the period of a harvest. The planted field is enclosed by a fence. [241]

Plate LXXXIII

Ill. 157. A dwelling in the midst of a newly cleared field. The small annex at the left serves as a storage room for chicha.

Ill. 158. A rectangular field-hut built for the period of a harvest. The walls are made of maize stalks, the roof is covered with sugar-cane leaves.

/CXXI/

Plate LXXXIV

[356] Ill. 159. Hip-roofed house, the roof of which is repaired with sugar-cane leaves. In front of the house the sugar mill, over which the expressed canes are hung to dry. To the left, as an annex, the menstruation hut. Behind the house, vegetable bananas.

Ill. 160. Framework of a dwelling, made of bamboo.

1: Nachtigall--299 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXI cont./

Plate LXXXV

[100]

Ill. 161. Framework of a house.

Ill. 162. Dwelling of the civilized Paez being built. The walls are filled with earth to the thickness of a post.

Ill. 163 and 164. Construction details of a Paez house.

Plate LXXXVI

Ill. 165. House annex with the chicha trough. In front of the man's stomach hangs the colorfully patterned coca pouch. Married women wear their hair plaited in a braid.

[585]
[302]

[352] Ill. 166. The interior of a Paez house. Tables, benches, and beds are lacking. At night they sleep on the floor around the hearth made of three field stones.

[513]
[354]

Plate LXXXVII

Ill. 167. House garden of the Paez with bananas, sugar cane, and yuca.

[417] Ill. 168. Maize field with fence. A notched tree-trunk serves as ladder.

Plate LXXXVIII

Ill. 169. Portion of a field readied for burning. The tree growth has been cut off at hip height.

Ill. 170. Land used by the village, with black surfaces of the fields burned off in preparation for sowing.

Plate LXXXIX

[241] Ill. 171. Paez burning felled trees. The ashes serve as fertilizer.

Ill. 172. Men setting out sugar-cane shoots with the digging stick.

The fields are prepared with
/283 cont./
241 machetes and fire. They are the so-called rozas, a barbarous, primitive, and criminal method of agriculture. Burning is a habit of natives and colonists alike and goes so far that even the vegetation of the cliffs, crags, and escarpments is burned, where obviously no practical use can be derived and in addition it leaves the denuded rock at the mercy of the agents of erosion.

136 Fauna.--The fauna consists of a few classes of ophidians and small mammals: tinajos, coatis, pacas, armadillos, porcupines, foxes, deer, tapirs, sloths, and rabbits. Bears, ocelots, and pumas are found in the virgin montañas. Birds, such as wild pigeons and chachalacas, abound.

132 Climate.--There are no data on the rainfall, temperatures, /284/ and winds of this zone. The climate on the whole is temperate, or, to put it better, it is a coffee-growing climate.

361 Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, the natives inhabit
133 a region that extends from 1,000 meters (Itaibe) up to 2,500
132 meters above sea level (Suin, Mosoco, Vitoncó, and Lame). According to Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba, at the time of the Conquest the Paez peoples of Tierradentro inhabited "altitudes and climates between 2,620 meters with 13 degrees centigrade and 1,650 meters with 17 degrees centigrade on the average" (1).

1. Hernández de Alba (Gregorio), p. 917 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

132 The atmospheric humidity and the rainfall increase as the cordillera becomes higher and snow-capped Huila draws nearer, with two summers and two winters, influenced, of course, by the topography, the vegetation, and proximity to the summit. There is an intense summer during the months of January and February, and another in July, August, and September. The winters are intense during the months of March-June and, on a smaller scale, in October-December. Snow-capped Huila

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23) /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

4:Bernal Villa--7 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/182 cont./

487 499 authentically native achievement which is a true work of engineering; it could not have been done in any other spot or in any other way. The bridge over the Kukiyú was built with two thick beams over which thin cross-pieces have been fastened together with lianas; like all Paez bridges, it has a thatched roof and side rails.

III

Black, Smoking Dots on the Horizon

241 36 /133/ From Yukaichí one can see almost the entire parcialidad of Calderas, exept for the left bank of the Kukiyú. On the ridge of a hill, at the end of a canyon, on a slight plateau, discreetly hidden on a gentle slope or on a bold declivity, one sees trapezoidal figures that glow like graphite, surrounded by rows of golden stalks of maize. They are the Indians' huts, built far apart, submerged in the green landscape of the plantings of bananas and sugar cane, and through whose openings a thick bluish smoke is always emerging, a sign of life and activity.

31 While to the Guajira /Goajiro/ livestock is a symbol of sustenance and the tending of herds its concomitant activity, to the Paez the land is the sustainer of man; the black layer that covers the rocks feeds the woodland /monte/ after the harvest; time will tell when it will be mature and ready for fencing in anew the clearings that will yield the longed-for maize, the plenteous arracacha, the small beans, the blooming cabbage, the thick and abundant santo wheat /trigo del santo/; in the grasslands graze the cattle with bright and variegated hides, small, swift horses of great endurance, the many herds of pigs that fight over the tender roots of shrubs, and the mild sheep that yield wool for the men's ponchos, the women's skirts, and the kuetand yahas of both.

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The tê eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

● 241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

5:Bernal Villa--34 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/245 cont./

*765 756 783 [113]

8. See: "Mitología y Cuentos de la Parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and Tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropologia, 1953.

[114] This type of cleansing has not been confirmed by any informant, curer or layman, young or old, male or female, from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, San Andrés, Calderas, Togoima, Avirama, or Mosoco.

342 796 *756 ●[244] Conjuration of the new rancho. To protect their fields from the voracity of wild animals, they build a small rancho. Before occupying it, they perform the following conjuration. The curer blows remedies in the center of the rancho where the hearth will be. He digs a hole and buries shu and shulape. He makes a fire and casts fiundayuskei and bitopiskue into it. He gathers up all the ashes and throws them outside the rancho. He revives the fire again and roasts a green ear of maize, which is given to a dog to eat. If the dog does not die, it is a sign that there is no pest there and the owners can occupy it. In the opposite case they must abandon it. In Santa Rosa the Té eu eats the ear of maize.

This same ceremony is performed upon beginning a house. They give the dog roasted maize since it is not the season for green ears. Then they drink chicha and aguardiente.

241 *756 E huse uña (clearing-eat). The harvesting of the crops from new clearings must be initiated by the curer. The owner of the field provides coca, tobacco, and aguardiente and invites the curer. The entire family goes to the field.

The té eu prepares a calabash of remedies based on Chayuts, shugues, tayuskei, echiutse, ul fiñ, tatse. He sprinkles the clearing with this. He distributes as many bundles of remedies as there are persons present, for them to chew, to swallow the juice, and to rub their bodies with the remainder.

/245 cont./

241 As soon as the curer has collected one fruit of every species to
756 be harvested, he makes up a bundle as an offering to the Ghost,
[782] since he is the owner of the earth.

[776] When this offering has been made, the owners harvest a pouch of each crop sown. They go home and /246/ put the pouches side by side in the left part of the entrance door for
[783] the curer to blow remedies again. Without this requisite, the pouches of food could not be brought into the house because they might carry the pest. The women begin to cook them. When the time for eating comes, the curer first passes around a cup of aguardiente with yuskei and bitopiskue. When there are potatoes, they are handed over to the curer after they are cooked. He distributes one specimen to everyone present; what remains is handed to the owner, who in turn gives generously to the curer.

If the first fruits are of maize or beans, the following is done:

With the green ears of maize, "loaves" /bollos/ or "wrappers" /envueltos/ are prepared; with the beans, a large bundle is made. Then the ears of maize, the bundle of beans, and the loaves are cooked. Aside from this, there is a pot of stew with chicken to provide for the curer.

The cooked ears of maize, beans, and loaves are assembled in a trough, and the cook distributes to all those present a sample of each type. Everyone eats, taking care to leave a little of each mouthful, which they pass to the curer. The latter makes a pile, ties it up, and hangs it from the ridge of the house so that the field seed which is being harvested will yield abundant fruit in the following year.

The husks of the ears of maize are piled outside the house, where the curer remains for one night with the object of capturing glowworms and killing them.

776 Assisting spirits. Thunder. All the informants state that Thunder is short in stature, about 1.40 meters, wears a large hat of twigs, underdrawers, a black poncho, tama, and pouch

/295 cont./
strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga, Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agriculture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

/296 cont./

13 and are of very good quality. The wheat and coffee from the
• 241 municipio of Inzá enjoy a deserved reputation in the republic for the quantity and quality of their crops.

133 The Páez River receives approximately 32 watercourses on
134 the left bank, and 17 on the right. It is easy to imagine the ruggedness of the terrain if we bear in mind the fact that each
[241] one of them forms an impassable ravine. It is also easy to imagine the magnitude of the erosion, assisted by factors of a cultural nature, such as the systematic battle against herbaceous vegetation by means of the system of annual fires. The violence of the wild waters denudes and even forms veritable rivers of stone, such as are seen at the place called Vicanenga in the municipio of Páez. The streams and torrents sometimes swell to extraordinary proportions. In 1949 the Topa torrent completely washed away its small tributary valley, on which stood the hamlet known by the name of Brisas, now Valencia, a flood which was repeated in April of this year.

241 Of course, the extent of the workable land does not keep
133 pace with the increase in population. The physiography of the
134 cold thermal level, on the other hand, spreads out and flattens
[161] a little, the horizon broadens, the patches of arboreal vegetation increase, and the plots multiply, like veritable chessboards in Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó. Their soils nourish maize, wheat, potatoes, ullucos, nasturtium, and garlic. On the dividing lines between the plots there rise, like green walls, the plantings of cabuya.

161 3. Population density. The growth of the indigenous popu-
361 lation in general, and of the "white" one in particular, has
311 compelled the former to utilize lands increasingly more difficult, steep, /297/ and sterile, or to emigrate in search of uncultivated land. As early as the time of the Conquest we find notes on the spread of the Páez people to the western slopes of the Central Cordillera, forming such nuclei as Pitayó, Tacueyó, and San Francisco. Nowadays, we find Páez groups on the eastern slopes of the Western Cordillera in the department of Cauca, in the departments of Huila and Tolima, and in the Cauca Valley, as Páez

/297 cont./

161 outposts, the centers of Chinche and Potrerillos to the north of
311 the settlement of Palmira (4).
361

4. Duque Gómez, L. "Problemas Sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del Occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," p. 187.

Agriculture and horticulture

241 Agriculture and horticulture constitute the primary source
133 of subsistence for the Páez. It covers a wide hypsometric zone
[433] that goes from 1,000 meters (La Plata, Huila) to well beyond the contour line of 3,000 meters in altitude above sea level (Mosoco). Naturally, the species cultivated vary with the thermal level, and, consequently, the dietetic regimen. What do not vary are the methods of cultivation and, above all, the magical practices
241 associated with them. There are also variations in the extent
134 and the type of cultivable soils. Those used the most in Tierradentro are the ones included in the temperate thermal level. We have already discussed their fertility and extent. The soils of the cold thermal level are fertile and more extensive. Thick humus layers are found in Lame, Mosoco, San José, La Troja, Irlanda, Guanacas, Turminá, and Coscuro. These are, of course, truly privileged zones. Nevertheless, the soils are not rationally utilized or conserved. The land is exploited in an exhaustive manner. A clearing will not tolerate two consecutive plantings. Thus, each year new land, new clearing, new fencing, and new burning are required. After having been harvested once, the ground is abandoned, and in the course of the years it once more becomes covered with shrubs and thickets. After seven years, more or less, the land is again cleared of its underbrush, and the same cultivated species are planted once more. In Calderas, Santa Rosa, and Togoima, maize, arracacha, frijoles, cabbages, potatoes, and sometimes peas are planted. The process described earlier is typical of these parcialidades. In Mosoco and the cold parts generally, maize, potatoes, /298/ broad beans, and frijoles are planted in the same clearing, and

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés, 134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés, 423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

241 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while 342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no [248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not [273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro- [778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

P /298 cont./

245 Guadua bamboo thrives in the temperate valleys. It is of excellent quality. In most cases it serves as shade for the coffee. Its increase would redound in obvious benefits.

P 249 /299/ In spite of the fact that plantings of coca are pro-
C [249] scribed by Colombian law, it is cultivated for consumption at
[656] almost every home; and in some parcialidades there are numerous
P [435] plantings for commercial purposes. The value of the leaf is high. A pound is quoted at three pesos.

Pc 313 Sawmills are found in Coscuro, Toez, the Símbola River,
Pc [785] and the Salado stream. But this is almost exclusively an industry of the "whites." Only in San Andrés and Mosoco was it possible to see native sawyers. There is no reforestation.

P ●241 172 137 In a large part of the parcialidades of San Andrés, Caldenas, Lame, Mosoco, and Vitoncó, and the entire valley of the Páez River, the clearings seem to have been done in quite remote times. There are no forests, but remnants are found along the crests and ridges that separate the valleys and in the windings where the human foot does not venture to tread. The cliffs are covered with uniform savanna vegetation.

P 172 241 [783] In many parcialidades there are archeological remains belonging to an unknown civilization earlier than that of the Páez. The lands where these elements are found are utilized without any qualms. But when the plantings are in a "new clearing," the natives take the precaution of performing the required purifications before beginning to consume the crops, in order to avoid the "Pijao" plague which might happen if the crops had been in contact with the archeological remains, "pijaos" in the expression of the natives.

P 245 The cultivation of fruit trees is not very widespread, in spite of the fact that up to not very long ago Inzá enjoyed the reputation of being the producer of peaches and apples of very good quality. Nowadays they are cultivated for commercial purposes in Vitoncó, La Troja, and El Cabuyo, where true orchards of these trees are maintained with care. The fruits are splendid and are harvested during the first three months of the

/299 cont./

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

● 241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation
137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):
192
[128]

5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/300 cont./

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137
192

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Maize	Zea mais L.	kuki
Plantain	Musa paradisiaca L.	tulé
Banana	Musa sapientum L.	kisefe (6)
Manioc	Manihot utilissima L.	ke
Sweet potato	Ipomea batatas Poir. Andigenum	ut
Potato	Solanum tuberosum	kiku
Arracacha	Arracacia xanthorrhiza Bancr.	ac (7)
Sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum L.	fuuke
Cabbage	Brassica oleracea var. acephala	kulley (8)
Onion	Allium cepa L.	apulle (9)
Frijol	Phaseolus vulgaris L.	ac
Ullucos	Ullucus tuberosus ex Lozano	qhuhli
Wheat	Triticum aestivum L.	uchichi
Barley	Hordeum vulgare L.	aebera (10)
Garlic	Allium sativum L.	ahue
Nasturtium	Tropaeolum tuberosum R. et P.	puul
Squash	Cucurbita maxima Duchesne	Ape
Squash	Cucurbita pepo L.	Pati
Broad bean	Vicia Faba L.	apuc (11)
Peas	Pisum sativum L.	alpés
Peppers	Capsicum sp.	ácuua
Coriander	Coriandrum sativum L.	klandés (12)
Avocado	Persea americana Mill.	áite
Orange	Citrus sinensis (L) Osbeck	Ilimac
Apple	Pyrus malus L.	manzanac
Peach	Prunus persica L. /Prunus/	kuchuc

6. From the Spanish: guineo.

7. Underlined vowels indicate nasalization:

[104] sh = French ch (chaise); ch = Spanish ch (chicha); j = French (jardín); h = Spanish j (rojo).

8. From the Spanish: coles.

9. From the Spanish: cebolla.

10. From the Spanish: cebada.

11. From the Spanish: habas.

12. From the Spanish: cilantro.

Common Name	Latin Name	Páez Name
Pineapple	**Ananas comosus (L) Camargo**	***chahú***
Granadilla	**Passiflora Ligularis Juss.**	***shlal***
Coffee	**Coffea Arabiga L.**	***café***
Ground cherry	**Physalis sp.**	***chimbú***
Chachafruto	**Erythrina edulis Triana ex Micheli**	***sisual***
Pepino	**Solanum muricatum Ait.**	***pina***
Yam	**Dioscorea sp.**	***shué***
Other cultivated plants:		
Coca	**Erythroxylon coca Lam.**	***esh***
Bamboo	**Guadua angustifolia Kuth**	***mum***
Bottle gourd	**Lagenaria vulgaris Serg.**	***tuka***
Calabash tree	**Crescentia cujete L.**	***shiptuka***
Cabuya	**Foucrea cabuya Trel.**	***bats***
Dill	**Anethum graveolens L.**	***llinojo***
Mint	**Mentha viridis L.**	***tschá***
Rue	**Ruta graveolens.**	***luda***

In reality, as far as a certain type of frijole that the natives call "kacha" is concerned, as well as the ground cherry, the chachafruto, fruits in general, and all the plants listed under "Other cultivated plants," with the exception of coca, the word "cultivated" is unsuitable, since they are practically in a semiwild state. The natives make use of their fruits, consumption thus being occasional and not always necessary.

Although it would appear that the territory of the Páez, at the time of the Conquest, extended up to very close to the Magdalena River, the principal nucleus of the population was located in the temperate zone and in the cold zone. The thermal levels determine the zones of cultivation. One of them goes from 1,000 to 2,000 meters and includes the entire valley of the Páez from Huila to La Plata, and the middle and lower courses of its tributaries Símbola, the river Negro de Narváez, Moras, Kukiyú, and Ullucos. Within it are located the capitals of the district, Inzá and Belalcázar, and the following native aldeas: Itaibe, Chitóquez (Ricaurte), Cuetando, Yaquivá, San Andrés de Pisimbalá, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Avirama, Chinas, Suin, Tálaga, Toez y Huila (Byla), as well as Valencia, Topa, Pedregal, and Turminá. They cultivate principally plantains, manioc, maize, sugar cane, frijoles, arracacha, coca, and coffee,

/301 cont./

133 which is in full development. The other zone goes from 2,000 to
241 3,000 meters and contains the pueblos of Calderas, Lame, Mosoco,
361 San José, La Troja, Vitoncó, and Irlanda. They cultivate potatoes, maize, ullucos, wheat, garlic, and nasturtium.

241 In the cultivation of cane, the Paez differentiate the following /302/ varieties: java /Java/, criolla, amarilla /yellow/ (mum ñusha), negra /black/ (ñusha kuchi). Of maize: capio (white, tender, and mulberry-colored) or kukiguafi, the calentano maize /maize of the hot regions/ or kukibah, the hard calentano, and the fine or kukimull. Of potatoes, the kaka chime (white), the kaka kuchi (with mulberry-colored skin), the kaka bé (red), and the tusa /corncob/ potato (has a mulberry-colored heart). Of manioc, they distinguish the noli, guaturunga, pitaleña, negra /black/, and colorada /red/. Of these, the first and last yield in a year and in three years, respectively, and the others in two years.

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433 Agricultural Cycles

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
	March-May	In 8 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Maize	May-Aug.	In 10 months (cold)	An annual harvest
	March-May	In 7 months (temperate)	An annual harvest
Frijole	May-Aug.	In 8 months (cold)	An annual harvest
Broad beans	May-Aug.	In 10 months	An annual harvest
	Oct.-Dec.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Potato	(paramo)		
	April-Aug.	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Ullucos	April-June	In 5 months	An annual harvest
Wheat	July-Sept.	In 8 months	An annual harvest
Manioc	Any month	In a year (noli)	Continuous
Plantain	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous

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Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb.-April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months [439] of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/303 cont./

241 433 244 [492] [435] [132] [484] relatively recent times, has fertile and humid soils. The harvests are large and of excellent quality. It produces profitable yields. The real production of Mosoco potatoes is there. They themselves designate it as the principal harvest. During the months of April and May, when the potatoes are being harvested, numerous droves of pack animals carry the produce daily to the market in Silvia. The profits from this crop are dependable. The cultivators state that even selling at four pesos per arroba it gives a profit. Normally an arroba of potatoes is quoted at six or seven pesos. The planting of potatoes in the paramo begins in October, is intensified in November and December, and the last is done in January. They take advantage of the mildness of the climate at this time. During the months of June, July, and August the winter is harsh, with intense cold and hurricane winds. Crossing the paramos at this time is quite perilous.

241 433 In San José, La Troja, El Cabuyo, El Cuartel, Lame, and Vitoncó, during the first four months of the year, wheat, barley, maize, frijoles, broad beans, and peaches are harvested.

Toward the months of October, November, and December, harvesting is done in Suin, Chinas, Calderas, San Andrés, Togoima, Santa Rosa, and Mosoco itself and consists principally of Maize, frijoles, ullucos, potatoes, and coffee. They constitute what we might /304/ call the second harvests of the year in Tierradentro. The planting begins after Ash Wednesday (March approximately) and is intensified in the months of April and May. 244 433 The last is done in July. The potato seed planted at about this time in Mosoco comes from the harvest in the "paramo." This is a secondary planting of scant yield. It usually results in losses, but the Mosoco cultivators plant with the aim of preserving the seed. It is interesting to note that the sole agricultural activity of one trader based in Mosoco is the planting of potatoes in the [434] paramo. He dispenses with the July sowing altogether. He prefers to buy the seed in Silvia, he pays the entire labor force, and in spite of these investments, which are high, he gets a good profit.

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/304 cont./

241 433 Aside from maize, a basic product of consumption in all the parcialidades, some of them emphasize certain crops primarily intended for commercial purposes. Thus, Mosoco produces potatoes and garlic; San José, wheat; Vitoncó, wheat and peaches; Lame, wheat and laurel wax; Togoima, coca; and the others, coffee.

241 433 The months of the most intense labor in the temperate zone correspond to the first five of the year, and especially to February and March, in order to take advantage of the sunny days during those months for the burning and the sowing, which in turn will benefit from the rains of April, May, and June. During this time, the reserves of the previous year's harvests are consumed, which, let it be said in passing, do not amount [132] to much. Thus, the months of scarcity are June, July, and August, and those of relative abundance, October, November, and December; the former relatively dry and the latter with copious rainfall.

[132] In Mosoco this schedule varies considerably, owing to the peculiar climate and the geographical position. The rains are constant in almost every month of the year; nevertheless, one can count on a few weeks of sunshine during the months of January and February. In the middle of the year, when the trade winds blow from the southeast, the winter is harsh. Thus, the months of intense labor are April, May, and June and coincide exactly with the harvesting of potatoes, wheat, and maize, and also those of November and December, for the planting of potatoes in the "paramo." March, April, and May, are months of plenty, and to some extent September and October as well. It would seem that there should not be any months of "hambruna" /extreme hunger/, but there are.

/305/ It is clear that the people of Mosoco work more and harder than the other natives; they actually harvest in almost every month of the year, but, like the others, they have months of "hambruna," which are September, October, and November, in spite of the fact that during these months they harvest potatoes and ullucos, but they call them such because they do not have 600 maize. The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale began more

The cultivation of potatoes on a large scale /305 cont./ began more
244 or less two decades ago. "From 1925 to 1930 the one who
433 planted the most potatoes was Ezequiel Mulcué, who caused amazement among the people; now the least planted is 20 arrobas," says one informant. Nowadays there are natives who sow up to 200 arrobas in a year, of which only 70 are planted in the "paramo," and they yield better results than the other arrobas planted. Then, we ask, why do the people of Mosoco have their months of hunger?

262 The basic product of the Paez diet is maize. It was in
154 the past and it continues to be so in the present. Psychologi-
[198] cally, they feel completely satisfied when they have maize for consumption. Its absence causes a sensation of dietary dissatis-
[243] faction. Before the era of the potato, the cultivation of maize and wheat predominated.

461 During the months of July, August, September, and Octo-
464 ber, the natives have little work. This is why those from
166 Vitoncó, San José, Lame, and Suin go and sign up as peons on the fincas of the "whites" on the other side of the Cordillera (Popayán, Corinto, and even in the Cauca Valley). They return toward the end of the year, when the maize and wheat harvests are drawing near. The natives of Calderas, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, and Togoima go to the fincas of Inzá or La Plata. They return in October when the maize harvests are approaching. It must be said that this labor force is excellent and cheap. And for this reason very much in demand.

The natives of Mosoco have sufficient work in their own country.

Clearings /rozas/

241 The term roza is used generically for the extent of land
433 cleared, burned, cleaned, and fenced, ready for planting. It is found on every private property. It has an area of approximately one hectare. Clearings of two or more hectares are rare. An increase in production does not reflect an enlargement of the clearings, but rather their multiplication and the utilization of ever more rugged and /306/ sterile lands. The natives, to

/306 cont./

241 433 indicate the size of their clearings, refer to the quantity of maize planted, that is to say, four cuartillas (approximately two arrobas). Since each clearing does not produce more than one annual harvest, the Páez calculate the size of their property in terms of years. Thus, if asked how much land they own, they state that they have two, four, six, or ten years. Which is the same as saying that they have land where they can lay out two, four, six, or ten separate clearings. Thus, among the Páez, one year is not merely a measure of time, but also an agrarian measure.

241 The clearings are never made in the foothills covered with grass /pajonales/. They are laid out where thick brush or true forest is found. Seen from a distance, they look like open rectangles or squares in the midst of forest or brush. When they are laid out in virgin montaña, the work begins in October. But ordinarily it is during the months of December, January, and February that the natives are busy at this task. These are summer months, and furthermore there is food for consumption. The summer sun rapidly dries out the underbrush, and toward the end of February and through the month of March it is completely burned. When passing through Tierradentro at this time of year, one sees black patches everywhere. At the same time, all the grasses on the slopes are burned so that with the winter rains they will come back vigorously and serve as pasture for the animals.

Burning is the most widespread and most deep-rooted system of agriculture in Tierradentro. It is the most effective way to clear the lands full of vines, grass, brush, and trees, and, logically, the most economical. It combats all sorts of insects injurious to the plantings, and poisonous reptiles, which are not scarce. The ashes produced, when they are not carried away by the rushing waters, are a true corrective for the unquestionably acid soils. The burning of the grasses is essential, for aside from doing away with the dry straw, a veritable thicket that prevents the shoots from growing, it also does away with ticks. The tender shoots of the herbaceous plants make splendid fodder for the bovine, mule, and wool-bearing livestock. Unfortunately, these burnings are not done in a creative spirit, but

000 rather in a destructive one. Fire is also set to the vegetation on

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./

241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels
[842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva- [412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the [256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on ● 241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families 433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of [563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953. [124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some [123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

6: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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433 From the above table, and relying exclusively on the data given there, we can deduce the following observations:

1. The production of Mosoco is superior to that of Lame, both in quantity and in the variety of species cultivated.

2. The numerical data indicate that there is underproduction, and for that very reason it may be deduced that there is underconsumption, although these data are rough estimates, since the only approximately exact figures that the natives keep are for the production of potatoes.

[243] [244] 3. The production of wheat, garlic, and potatoes is intended almost exclusively for the market, like that of barley, the production of which is not included in the statistical table, because we only have three figures of Mosoco and three for Lame. On the other hand, the production of maize, frijoles, barley, broad beans, ullucos, and nasturtium tubers is intended almost wholly for internal consumption.

[243] 4. Maize is the basic article of consumption, but the production given does not reflect this fact. Nevertheless, it does not include the amount consumed as roasting ears.

5. Losses of the harvest are frequent in Lame, owing to the lack of fertilizers.

[276] [262] [464] 6. Underproduction is compensated for by a larger consumption of coca (Lame) or by the acquisition of other food items such as panela, lard, bread, and coffee (Mosoco). On the other hand, underproduction explains why the natives go and sign up as day laborers on the haciendas of the "whites."

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Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale.
[434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income
[434] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize,
[276] plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee
[273] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

[Mosoco]

/316 cont./

105 178 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing. Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people going to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and even more the nara jihi (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many consult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the "whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412 [241] [177] Among the implements used in agriculture, only the digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture. The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete. With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/328 cont./

389 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was
43 thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.
388 The Indians go on using it to make candles for household con-
[373] sumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We
[796] have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

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Mingas

476 The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the
461 Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time
[464] and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in
554 nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic
[231] animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas
●241 are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. [782] Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] [535] [578] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they receive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

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6: Bernal Villa--68 E-5 (1952-1959) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Average Distribution of Crops per Family

Parcialidad	Maize T	P	B	%	Wheat T	P	B	%	Broad Beans T	P	B	%	Garlic T	P		%
Mosoco	550	22	120	21,8	892	15	15	3,5	140	5	80	57,1	75	3	—	—
Lame	248	31	30	12,1	20	3	—	—	16	2	—	—	2	—	—	—

	Ullucos T	P	B	%	Nasturcium T	P	B	%	Frijoles T	P	B	%	Potatoes T	P	B	%
Mosoco	127	7	—	—	126	5	—	—	43	1	6	13,9	4.300	172	865	20,0
Lame	25	3	—	—	25	3	—	—	27	3	—	—	138	17	78	56,7

	Coffee T	P	B	%	Plantains (27) T	P	B	%	Maize T	P	B	%	Frijoles T	P	B	%
San Andrés	254	17	174	68,5	2050	136	680	33,1	227	22	90	27,5	49	3	—	—

	Manioc T	P	B	%	Arracacha T	P	B	%
San Andrés	1.849	123	1.200	64,8	183	12	40	21,8

Note: T indicates the total arrobas produced by the family investigated.

P, the average number of arrobas for each one of these families.

B, the arrobas produced by the "whites," and %, the percentage that the latter produce in relation to the totals indicated.

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points, and the points as commas, in the translation to English./

27. The figures indicate the number of plantain trees producing.

/343/

241 433 Thus, a native family of Mosoco and Lame, in their respective order, has for its subsistence throughout the year 18 and 36 arrobas of maize, 16 and 5 arrobas of wheat, 2.5 and 2.5 arrobas of broad beans, 3 and 0 arrobas of garlic, 8 and 4 arrobas of ullucos, 5 and 4 arrobas of nasturtium tubers, 1.5 and 4.5 arrobas of frijoles, and 149 and 11 arrobas of potatoes. A native family of San Andrés has 7 arrobas of coffee, 124 bunches of plantains, 21.5 arrobas of maize, 59 arrobas of manioc, 13 [249] arrobas of arracacha, and 4 arrobas of frijoles. Unfortunately it is impossible to obtain statistics on the production of coca and, above all, on the amount of sugar cane consumed in the form of guarapo, which makes it impossible for us to find out in what ways and in what amounts it complements the consumption of each family.

As for maize, we see that the amounts for the families of San Andrés and Lame are superior to those for the families of Mosoco. Those for Lame are exactly double. But while in the latter, aside from coffee, there is no species produced for sale, in Mosoco, on the other hand, there are wheat, garlic, and potatoes for such a purpose. From which we deduce that the smaller the number of crops intended for trade that there is in a parcialidad, the larger will be the production of species for internal consumption, above all those that can be preserved for long periods of time, such as maize, frijoles, and broad beans. Ullucos, potatoes, and, above all, nasturtium tubers demand almost immediate consumption. The same is true of plantains, manioc, and arracacha. This is the reason why the families of San Andrés and Lame have at their disposal larger quantities of maize and frijoles than those of Mosoco.

Division of activities according to sex

462 From the earliest age, differences are established in the technological, economic, and everyday activities.

Among the Páez, only the man can make palm hats for the woman and for himself, wield the machete with full skill and dexterity, fashion the trough, sugar mill and the plates for eating, and play the musical instruments. On the other hand, only the

/343 cont./

462 woman can weave the kuetand yaha (mambe pouch) for carrying coca and mambe /lime for the chew/, weave the fique bags for carrying things, weave the ponchos and the skirts, spin wool and cabuya. Naturally, these differences in activities are observed by children, and they practice them from the earliest age, especially if there is stimulation /344/ by the persons who live with them. The differences in daily, technological, and economic activities are strictly observed. In agriculture, however, men and women are beginning to share the work equally. This phenomenon is, of course, recent.

[241] [178]

The scheme that we present below shows the distribution of activities according to sex.

Activity	Men	Women
Construction of houses	yes	
Construction of roads, drainage ditches, bridges	yes	
Preparation of fique and making lassos	yes	
Making hats	yes	
Making plates and spoons of wood	yes	
Making troughs and sugar mills	yes	
Slaughtering animals and drying hides	yes	
Use of weapons	yes	
Spinning		yes
Weaving		yes
Cooking		yes
Making kuentand yaha (wool)		yes
Making yahas (fique)		yes
Making calabashes	yes	yes
Sewing men's underdrawers	yes	
Washing and mending	yes (28)	yes
Ceramics	yes or	yes

28. Rarely.

[San Andrés]

/345 cont./

427 San Andrés is the sole region of Tierradentro, as far as we
161 know, where tenant farmers are found. Although the number of persons sunk in this servitude is no higher than 100, the mere occurrence of this phenomenon already tells us of an excess of population, at least in the parcialidades of San Andrés and Santa
[131] Rosa, from which the tenant farmers came. On the other hand, the scattering of the Páez group through this very department of Cauca, the departments of Huila and Tolima, and even through
[311] the department of the Valle is well known. The colonization of the uncultivated lands in Tierradentro by the natives has been systematic and intensive during recent years. There is the utilization of ever more inaccessible lands for agriculture in the temperate thermal level. All of these are factors that clearly tell us of an excess in the Páez population.

427 Here is what a tenant farmer told us about the phenomenon
●241 of tenant farming: As a tenant farmer he has the right to own a
466 house, a garden, and a clearing. The house and garden are contiguous and complementary. His garden occupies one plaza /a Colombian measure with 80 meters to the side/ more or less, and in it he has planted plantains (about 200 trees), oranges (about five trees), onions, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and some 200 coca trees. He has surrounded the garden with barbed wire provided by the owner in order to avoid damage by the animals of the hacienda. He can lay out his clearing on any site of the hacienda. It changes every year. In his present clearing he has planted 1,500 manioc plants; 200 of arracacha (he could not find more seed); maize; small frijoles /fríjol chiquito/ (in one month he hills the "sprigs," in two months they flower, and in three months he harvests) and large frijoles /fríjol grande/, and, finally, about two loads of sugar-
[433] cane shoots (seed). The produce of the clearing and of the garden is primarily for consumption, but if there is a surplus he may sell it to anyone, even though the owner urges him not
[249] to sell to anyone but himself. The sugar cane is milled in the
[257] /346/ sugar mill of the owner, with the subsequent use of his implements to make panela, half of what is produced being given to him.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
[422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

6: Bernal Villa--95 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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●241

Tierradentro I: A clearing on the slope in El Cuartel (Vitoncó).

6: Bernal Villa--96 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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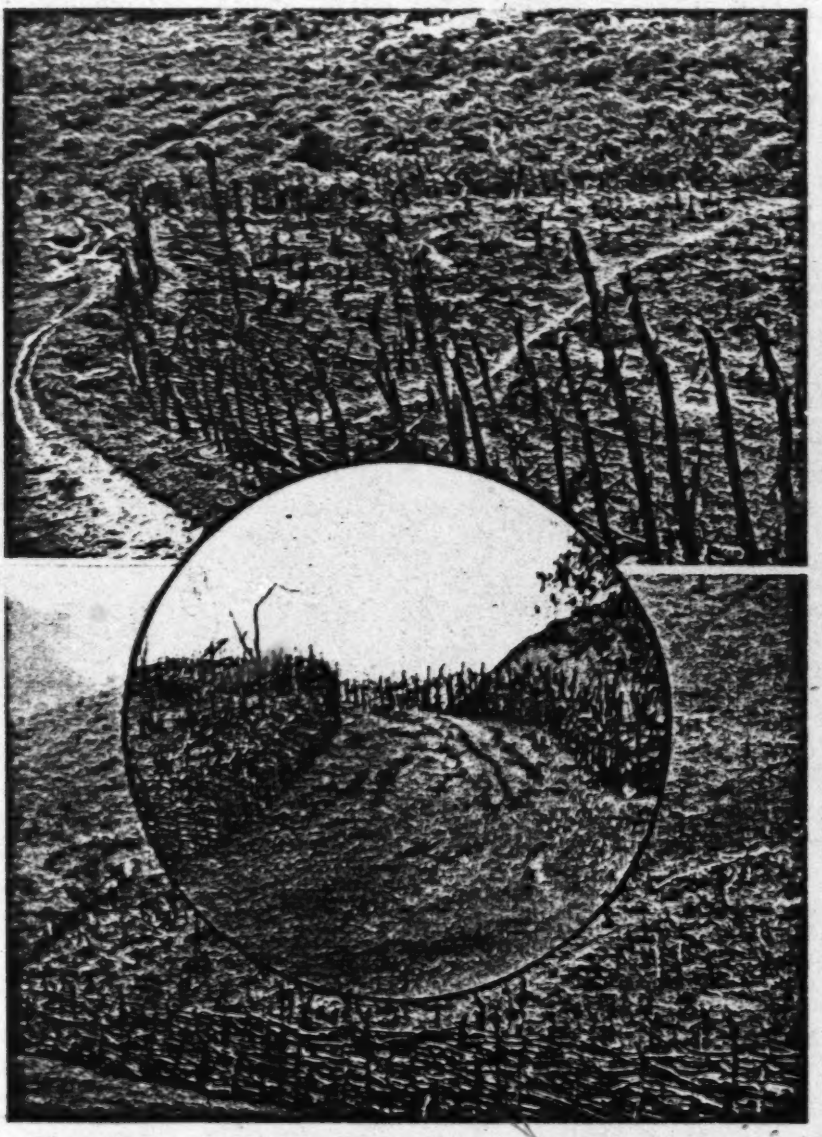
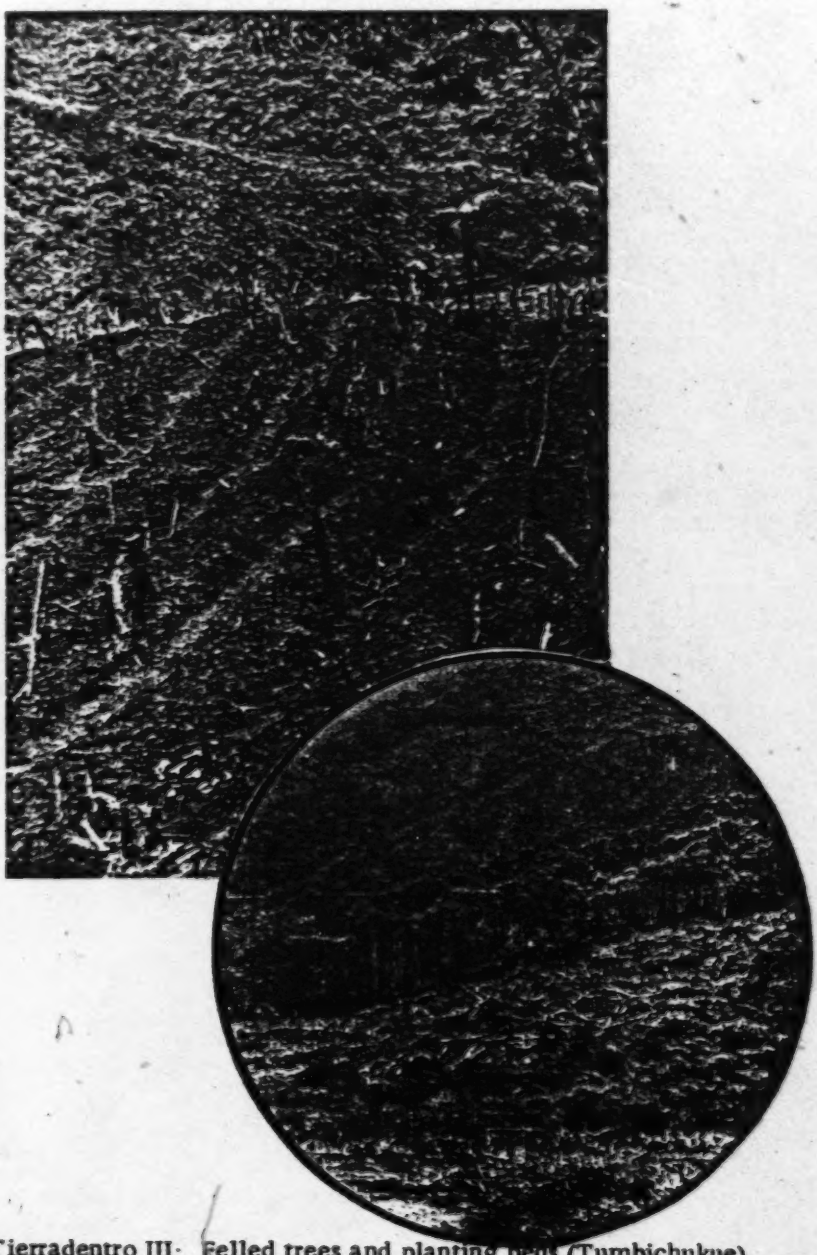


Tierradentro II: Clearings ready for sowing, showing the finished fences and the typical manner of making them (Tumbichukue and Lame).

● 241



Tierradentro III: Felled trees and planting beds (Tumbichukue).

6: Bernal Villa--98 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

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Tierradentro IV: Views of Mosoco. Above: left, panoramic view of Mosoco; right, partial view of the Mosoco plateau. Below: left, houses of Mosoco; right, dwellings, planting beds, and fences of "lechero."

?:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Pdez*, the *Pdez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

241 This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
133 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
132 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branicki*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[1]

[127] [1] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vegetation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where replaced by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

Food preparation.—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] [476] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers, just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same [855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood. [627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured, [623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may [692] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildó settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas[1] are organized more readily among brothers, who [476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually [651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor [796] to drink and eat together.

[1] [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]